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THE

TURKISH QUESTION.

BY COUNT A. DE GUROWSKI,
AUTHOR OF "RUSSIA AS IT IS."

Horcht! die Glocken hallen dumpf zusammen,
Und der Zeiger hat vollbracht sein Lauf.—SCHILLER.

NEW YORK:
WILLIAM TAYLOR & COMPANY,
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THE TURKISH QUESTION.

I.

A few months more and I shall have completed the five years of my apprenticeship to freedom, and become a lawful American citizen. As a preparatory step I have therefore renounced my allegiance to any sovereign, but not, to what in my conviction appears to be right and the truth; nor can I renounce the interest felt in the destinies of a race to which I belong by birth,—destinies whose study absorbed the best years of my life. I can preserve this so much the more cheerfully, as the present as well as the future, of the Slavi, does not and very likely never will, interfere with the bright onward progress and the real interests of this, my adopted and sincerely beloved country. She bestows on me freedom, and this boon I use.

America allows a free expression to every conviction and opinion. Free discussion of every subject is the source of life here. Therefore a varied exposition of the questions and issues which are now agitating the world, must on the whole prove beneficial, averting the effects of a precipitate and thus often erroneous judgment.

The interests, the fate of the Ottomans and of Turkey, excite and absorb, for the moment, the attention of the world. The holiest and the purest principles and motives are being continually invoked on behalf of Turkey. Let us, therefore consider them from another point of view than that of the Anglo-French.

II.

Nearly everybody familiar with general history, knows the nature, the essence indeed, of Mohammedanism, as well as the modes in which it conquered a foothold on European soil, and superposed an Asiatic tribe on the Christian natives of the invaded and conquered country. By a fanaticism, of a most bloody and arrogant hue, which makes the true believer look down on all who do not acknowledge the Kuran, as scarcely human beings, the Osmanlis became during many centuries, a terrible scourge for nations. But such an unnatural tension could not last for ever. As soon as it began to give way, there began also at first a slow, but uninterrupted decline of their merciless power,—a power founded on the most brutal subjection, and which consists in reducing the conquered to a most absolutely relen tless civil, religious and moral abjection.

Nowhere, did the Turks carry with them any of the germs of peaceful order and development. They encamped in Europe but did not take root in its soil by means of either agriculture, arts or industry of any kind. Thus devastation was an unavoidable result of their rule, equally as oppres-

sion of the Christians, flows largely from their religious creed. By this creed their character, their opinions, their laws, their customs, and even their manners are formed ; by the Kuran, the Turks must stand or fall.

Tempered by fanaticism, a comparative but organized minority established its domination over large, but less warlike and disorganized majorities. The Turks, imbrued with the blood of Christians, form a paramount nation, having openly exercised for centuries, and persisting in it still, albeit less violently, the most sanguinary absolutism. This decrease in cruelty, however, is not the result of humanity but of weakness. They are now in a state of decline and decomposition. And the chemical process increases its corrosive action the more it approaches to the final dissolution.

Under this minority, there groaned and still groans, various nationalities, linked together, only by the chain of galley-slaves. They have to work for the turbaned master, to pay the tribute, to entertain laziness, to stuff a fetid carcass, crippling any expansion, and poisoning every vitality. For centuries their bloody sweat served to fatten the Turk; their domestic hearth was violated and desecrated, and children were torn from their parents to satisfy the lust of the Mohammedan. The only answer which they got to their complaints from Cadis, Muftis, Agas, Pashas, and Vizirs, was the edge of the yatagan, severing their throats. Now all this is to be, at once, obliterated, by the oppressed, through the incantations of French and English politicians, and of a motley crowd of self-styled liberals.

These men admire the past fierceness of the Ottomans, even as they admire that of the so-called royal beasts of prey. But even this brute grandeur has long since disappeared. The substance is gone, the shadow only remains. The lions and tigers have now become jackals and even worse.

The Turks in Europe are effete, lazy and filthy ; infect-

ing as well the air as the soil. If there ever were any better spirit in the Kuran, it is now a dead letter for the many and above all for the so-called innovators. The Kuran as a creed is worn out.

Any lustfulness, obscenity and crime contained or allowed by the "book of books," survives, becoming either a religious or common law, penetrating and directing the practice, the customs and the daily usages of the Turks ;—it may be said that the bad, alone remains, and in it they revel. After the extinction of their religious fervor, the Turks became a prey to moral and material disorder, exhibiting in all directions the elements of a rapid dissolution. Bad, infamous, and immoral customs, are now about the only religion left among them ; the poorer classes delight in lewdness and filthiness, and the wealthier ones, because they get drunk on alcohol and wines, are called civilized, forsooth !

Woman is now as she always was, maintained in the most abject, degrading state. She is only an implement for lust. The harem is the domestic shrine of the Turk.

Is there any real, social or public virtue possible ; any amelioration or progress to be expected for a country where woman is degraded to this extent, and that by religion, by laws, by customs, and general notions ; where she is so disgustingly reduced as to serve simply as a utensil for the satisfaction of material passion and pleasure.

The partizans and admirers of the Turkish *regime* look and take much pains to impress the Christian world with the belief, that slavery has been utterly suppressed by the present Sultan and the Europeanized ministers who surround him.

The great *Yessir Bazaary*, a slave market, was indeed closed by the order of the Sultan in 1846, but slaves are still publicly sold in other places. In fact the Turks have shut up one great bazaar in Constantinople and opened se-

veral smaller ones, where the poor victims are huddled together in miserable, subterraneous dens and cellars, according to the testimony of all travelers..

The slave markets are in full activity ; they are open six days a week. Males and females are exposed in a state of nudity ; and how, indeed, without this traffic, could the harems be filled with women, eunuchs and servants ?

A duty upon slaves is continued to be levied at the custom-house at Constantinople.

How well this infamous traffic is remunerative may be concluded from the fact, that, if for two slaves bought by a slave dealer in Africa, one can be brought safely to the market, the dealer has a very lucrative business. Circassian women and boys for the herems are even brought from the Black Sea, under the protection of an English flag.

The Circassian dealers in white human flesh, in girls and boys, are men of might and consideration. Government newspapers advertise their sales.

And those who condemn slavery and slave traffic, and marts for women in this country, who justly thunder against the slave auctions at New-Orleans, bestow their best sympathies and make speeches on behalf of the Turks as props of liberty and civilization, and even wish to preserve and tenderly nurse an order of things where eunuchism prevails ; where slavery and slave traffic have not even the excuse of being a necessity for the cultivation of the soil, for developing the resources of the country, but are destined to supply the most infamous use of women and boys.*

* An Honorable Member of Congress.

III.

The friends of Turkey have found, however, a panacea to cure the evils prevailing there ; to arrest its decomposition ; to restore life, and infuse fresh and vigorous pulsations ; to give morality and purity, in fact, to their civilized Turks. All this is to be obtained by the celebrated *Reform* or *Tanzimout.* This is to heal the wounds, reïnvigorate the state, transform the government, and the decrepit nation. However, up to the present time, in spite of being in operation for years, the action of the *Tanzimout* has been most corrosive ; accelerating the catastrophe which it was intended to prevent. Even the celebrated Mr. Layard states this in his writings, wherever he has occasion to speak of the reform ; but latterly he has become its fervent advocate.

Collecting together all the evidence given by partial and impartial travelers, the *Tanzimout* appears to us either a sham or an imposition.

These reforms have taken the heart and soul out of the people.

Aiming at violently Europeanizing the Turks, these reforms have rather, miserably bastardized the whole race ; making them neither Christians nor Mohammedans ; neither Asiatics nor Europeans. Every intelligent man knows that the difference between the state of civilization and culture ; between the social and civil institutions of any state of Europe whatever, and that of Turkey is radical, enormous, and most deeply rooted.

And these reforms, thus violently and summarily intro-

duced, were modelled on countries like France and England, the most opposite in every respect to Turkey.

A partial object of the European hired, and Turkish perverted reformers, was to cover, as it were, the dead corpse with a dye ; but the main point, for all of them, was to force a revenue, heedless, whether the measures, led at length to absolute ruin or no. Generally, this is the aim of all reformers, and their intention too, who, instead of beginning with morally and intellectually elevating the masses of the people ; try to make money.

The reforms of the Pope go, hand in hand, with those of the Sultan. Both try to obtain large incomes for the sake of keeping up, the one, the Cardinals ; the other, the Pashas and their respective tails.

The essence, however, as well as the form of Islamism puts every thing into the hands of the Sultan. Thus all depends on the individuality of the rulers, and of those entrusted by him with various portions of the power. The pashas are the knots of the net, extending over the whole country ; and each of them with a power nearly as absolute as that of the Sultan himself. Their corruption, tyranny and grinding oppression are not contested even by Turkophiles.

Few rare exceptions are of no avail. The whole government is in the hands of the pashas. This always will be so. For a sovereign brought up and educated in the harem, must necessarily be ignorant, brutal or effeminate ; lacking the knowledge of men and things. Those who, centuries ago, extended and established the Ottoman sway, were brought up in active life ; in camps and on battle-fields. But now the Sultans are the tools of the intriguers, by whom they are surrounded.

Thus over the corruption of the pashas, neither the Sultan nor the law exercises any control. With few exceptions the pashas are without even the rudiments of education.

They, however, are the directors, the expounders and carriers out of the reform.

IV.

The most fertile regions of the old world were for centuries smitten with the curse of barreness, under the Turkish rule. Every traveler, whatever may be his opinions, attests the inefficiency, laziness, filthiness and indolence of the Turks.

Their rule has not built a village or hamlet, tilled an acre or scarcely planted a tree : but has destroyed thousands upon thousands of acres, transforming them into deserts or pestilential plains. Time has only one sad, uninterrupted and comfortless tale to tell, of moral sickness and imbecility ; of material devastation.

Notwithstanding all this, Turkey, which does not possess a single road or even any rudiments of agriculture, was to be suddenly converted, into a manufacturing country, and to make all things for herself, as do the most industrial parts of Europe. This was to be obtained by a magic spell, by Aladin's Lamp, or through some magic wand, in the hands of the imported reformers. By their incantations, the empty coffers, of the Seraglio, were to have been, uninteruptedly, filled.

But wholesale importations of the implements and instruments of European civilization, will not give life to a corpse ; they will alter neither personal disposition nor social institutions. Such a proceeding gives the mechanism, without giv-

ing even the ability to handle it; but in no way can it create a spirit, or restore a body decrepit through old age. These things, to be appreciated, do not require to be backed by even plausible considerations.

Whatever has been the result of the superficial and momentaneous success, obtained by reform, it has not been by any real effort or progress of the Turks themselves, but either by the Slavi, the Greeks, the Armenians, or by the direct exertion of French, English, Belgian or German settlers. Conscientious foreigners, lured to Constantinople and Turkey, tell all the same tale of disappointment and wasted exertions. If something, very insignificant even, has been done to improve the material condition of Turkey, no such effect has been produced on the Turks themselves.

As long as the Kuran is the fundamental law of the Empire, no civilization, progress, or reform, is possible. All these essays of reform, for more than one reason, have cost more than they could bring in and instead of filling the treasury, bled it to death. Misery and famine are as common as ever and the daily markets of Constantinople are regulated by the *maximum*. The Turks, themselves the worst producers of all, impede and depress the productive powers of others.

Thus beneath the sham attempts at reform lie all the symptons of decay; as likewise beneath the principles of toleration, so bepraised by hired writers,* lie all the elements of deadly hatred, persecution and violent struggle.

In this way, the Tanzimout, instead of shedding a roseate dawn over the Ottomans, has materially contributed to dig their grave. The malady has neither been cured nor stopped, nay, the mortification even extends itself more rapidly. Fate is stronger than galvanic attempts to stop its agony. The Turkish race declines, diminishes yearly in numbers, dies out; disappearing as well in Asia as in Europe. To accelerate its

* Europeans in the Turkish service at Constantinople.

extinction, it is asserted that forced abortion, in all classes, is the most common practice among Turkish women. Not only the present embryo is destroyed, but means are used to prevent all chances of future conceptions.

In the process of galvanization, the army however, has been reörganised and brought to a certain order. At the present time, sparks of ancient fierceness have been animating it. However, these brute qualities of a murderous order are always the last to disappear, ay, even stagnant waters, when stirred up, bring sparkling gases to the surface. But it is not life.

And even conceding that the army is well organised and put on a respectable, martial and menacing footing, what of that? If, in the whole Turkish government, the army is the only well organised branch, then it must necessarily eat up all the remaining scanty resources of the land.

And how long, can any army whatever, through its own individual organisation or efficiency, be able to stay the ruin of an Empire?

When armies remain as the last resource of a country, then, truly, is its death-knell sounding.

V.

Such are the features of the physical and moral state of the Turks; those cherished pets of philanthropists and *far-seeing* politicians. This paramount minority* of putrid oppressors, is to be sustained, by the so-called civilization against the oppressed who, are increasing and possess all the germs of life, expansion, and growth, and who are moreover Christians.

This christian majority, the original owners of the country; for centuries its sole cultivators under the most fearful odds, with whose blood, spilt by the Turks, the soil is deeply impregnated, shall it be sacrificed for the sake of a diplomatic, heartless, and stupid expediency; in order, to maintain and preserve, the, already tottering, Ottoman edifice?

To these Christians is held out the *mirage* of toleration and reform, under the patronage of England and France. This is not new to the oppressed. Toleration and reform are already of older standing: but they have not prevented, ever since their introduction, the most bloody persecutions of Christians from Bosnia down to Lebanon and the plains of Syria.

Here again, Mr. Layard, is an eminent authority, notwithstanding that his actual tenderness for the Turks is quite equal, at present, to the dreadful description, given by him of the extermination of the Nestorian and Maronité Christians.

However great, for the future, the watchfulness of the agents appointed, *ad hoc*, by European powers may be, they will not be able to prevent the acts of fanaticism, cruelty,

* In Europe 1,600,000, Mohammedans against 14,000,000 Christians, half of whom, are of the Slavi race.

and murder, that will certainly be perpetrated by the Turks.

The influence of any Consul for the purposes of good and just government, does not extend beyond the town, where he resides; nor can this influence, be often exercised in favor of the oppressed rayahs.

The residence of a British consul, at Salonica, could not prevent, in 1846, the perpetration, by a Turkish Pasha, of some of the most fearful atrocities.

A complaint, brought before similar *tutelary* authorities, will not heal a deadly wound, restore life to the murdered, or rebuild the ruins of destroyed homes.

Experience has sufficiently taught the Christians, how illusory are the hopes of toleration or civil equality, where the immediate authority is wielded by their most bitter enemies. And, in such hands, the destiny of Christians, if the Anglo-French protectorate succeeds, will remain. An approximation, between the two principles and races, is beyond any human possibility and still less is an amalgamation.

It is now declared that, in criminal law cases, the evidence of Christians, shall be of equal weight with that of the Mossulmans. But if the judge remain a Mossulman, of what avail will be the evidence; and as the Kuran will always be the ruling code, in what manner, will a Christian be able to obtain justice?

It is not necessary to wait for the action of time, as common sense already shows that, all similar projects must fall to the ground and remain ineffective, since they are unnatural.

Events will show, how the mass of Christians, taught by the experience of centuries, will become the devoted subjects of the so-called reformed Turks. At present, these Christians are not allowed to decide for themselves, but politicans, diplomats, philanthropists, and occasionally even renegades determine all, on their behalf, in Constantinople, Paris and London.

VI.

According to the widespread and loud declarations of such men, freedom and civilization are in danger and they continually appeal to the world to rescue them. Turkey and the Turks, champions of civilization! Whatever may be the originality of history in her creations or her march, it would be the first time that she desecrated freedom and civilization so far as to make a fetid dung-heap for freedom's womb. What a sacrilege!

But to serve the heartless purposes of politicians and diplomats, history is violated, perverted and public conscience misled by misrepresentations; and all those who struggle for their religious liberty and national independence against the *humane* and *enlightened* Turks are held as robbers and traitors.

Evidences of such perversion would swell out a pamphlet to a volume. Take one from among many. On the two extremities of the Ottoman empire exist two populations who, protected by natural defences, continually make efforts to maintain their religious and national independence.

On the west the Montenegrins, Christians of Slavic origin, inhabit a small group of mountains, neither of great elevation nor inaccessible, and surrounded wholly by the Turkish empire.

The number of these hardy mountaineers amounts to 100,000 souls. This insignificant population, about a century ago, unaided by any power on earth, with superhuman efforts, succeeded in liberating itself from the Turkish yoke, at an

epoch when the power of the Turks was still strong and menacing. This tribe still maintains its independence by bloody struggles.

It is easy to understand that frequent broils occur on the frontiers between them and the neighboring Turks.

When, last year, Omar Pasha threatened this poor and heoric people with extermination, he was applauded by all his adherents, revolutionists, liberals and publicists of the western camp. The Montenegrins being called by them robbers and thieves, solely because they did not share in their sympathies and devotion for the Turks.

I conceed that the Montenegrins descending into the plains carry off Turkish cattle and bread stuffs, but let us now see what is the occupation of the heroes of the Turkophiles.

In the east the Circassians, ten times more numerous than the Montenegrins possess an extensive range of mountains, bathed by two seas, and which form the most inaccessible stronghold on earth.

They resist Russia; their warlike, savage heroism is incontestable; but in every respect their position and numbers procure them advantages which the Montenegrins never possessed, who being Christians are therefore contemptible.

The Circassians on the other hand are prized because heathens or Mohammedans. The Montenegrins cultivate and till the soil with their own hands. The Circassians do this with and traffic in slaves—(white ones!) They breed and bring up their sons and daughters for the harems of the Turks; themselves are sodomites and in order to sustain this *noble* usage and traffic resort to kid-napping and child-stealing. Hence are they proclaimed to be virtuous heroes, and the world laments their destiny. So much for good faith, humane and generous feelings; high-sounding words forsooth!

Shibboleths which easily conceal egotism, knavery or monomania.

The same love of truth is displayed by Anglo-French politicians and journalists in all other respects. No one amongst the sympathizers with Mohammedanism, mentions or laments over the Christians already murdered in Bulgaria, Roumelia, in Andrianople and in Asia-minor.

The best men in Greece, and in Athens especially, have joined the insurrection in the Epirus, Thessaly and other points of ancient Greece. But since these populations rise for their most sacred rights against the beloved Turks, (the modern representatives of humanity, virtue and civilization,) the Epirotes, the Thessalians, the inhabitants of Pindus and others are called robbers and cowards ; the Greeks, base runaways ; and all of them Russian hirelings ; as no one possesses either patriotism or love of nationality who does not side with the Mohammedans. Altogether the American public ought to prepare itself to hear strange things reported from the other side of the Atlantic, before this contest is over.

VII.

The whole Mossulman turpitude is to be upheld, for the sake of expediency and the so-called balance of power, a thing which in reality has never had any existence.*

The integrity and the so-called independence of the Ottoman empire is to to be preserved.

But independence under the guarrantee of foreign powers—independence which rests on foreign succour, is such a palpable contradiction, in terms and ideas, that no further demonstration is needed to prove its fallacy. The efforts of the Christian world it would seem ought to combine so that the Turks may quietly smoke their pipes, trampling down the Christians, while the Christian world must pay with its blood for this quietude of the Seraglio and the Osmanlis.

The sponsors and the backers of the Kuran are chiefly the English and the French, acting under the benediction of the Pope. God forgive this old, broken and childish man, for he does not indeed know what he is about.

The reasons spurring on the French are easily understood. If this people be not wholly brazen-faced, if, as I hope some sparks of dignity still remain unextinguished in this unhappy nation, it is very natural that they should be eager to gloss over with blood shed in what they try to represent as a glorious contest, the ignominious and burning shame with which the events of the last four years have branded them.

The ruler of France knows well enough what he is about.

* Where was the balance of power when in 1822—3, the holy alliance crushed the liberties of Italy and Spain, in spite of the protestations of England? Does the balance of power exist on this continent? Is England to establish it?

He understands how to strike a certain French fibre. France as well as Europe is still ruled by absurd, obsolete notions, and unhappily such a state of things will exist for some time to come. A new dynasty anywhere and above all in France, or any individuality whatever, which will grasp at power over European nations in general, knows that the best road to success, is to be surrounded with the halo of military glory. Blood spilt with this aim is believed to be the most exquisite manure for the soil in which the tree of a new lineage is to be planted. The Napoleonides are essentially children of bloodshed.

Well, indeed, does it become the France of to-day both nation and ruler, to cry out about good faith, sacred rights, interests of humanity, and to accuse others of perfidy.

The support given to the Pope in 1849 against republicans, whose rights were even better than those of the men of February, was determined on by a full blooded republican government, and carried out—being urged on by the vote of a free representative body.

No need to re-tell the events of 1—4 December 1851, they illustrate humanity, civilization and liberty.

Since that day ten times more have been thrown into dungeons in France, than during the twenty-eight years of the reign of Nicholas, who has had two insurrections and several conspiracies to deal with.

The galleys, the transportations *en masse* to Algeria, Cayenne and other places out of Europe, far outnumber the banishments to Siberia.

The proceedings of the police in France are more brutal than those in Poland and Russia ; and the treatment of political prisoners in Cayenne, is inhuman and cruel to a degree of which there is not the slightest idea in frozen Asia.

Russia is under the iron rule of despotism. But she is so from olden times ; liberty which never existed there has not

consequently been recklessly destroyed by perjury, murder and a lawless soldiery. The Russian nation has never applauded such acts, neither has it cheerfully or willingly given up the enjoyment of rights which it might once have possessed. But an immense majority did so in France and are satisfied.

I hate war; generally no good results from it. It strengthens the chains of material servitude and moral abjection. The present war, whatever may be its results will strengthen despotism in Russia. Everywhere and in all times wars end in propitiating the worship of individuals, the sham hero-worship; in retarding intelectual emancipation, the only true one of the masses.

It is the same,—a sign of profound abjection, want of self-consciousness and dignity, whether the masses blindly follow the lead of a Mohammed, a Napoleon, a Czar, a Kossuth or a Mazzini. In either case the people is degraded.. More intensely still do I hate despotism. I shall not be its defender; but facts are facts, truth is truth, and true light ought to be thrown upon the pending question.

The Czar is a despot. Despotism is his trade. Often heartless. It is his character. Umbrageous and suspicious. This results naturally from the two former conditions. But he is neither faithless nor perfidious. Russia is fierce, savage, anything you like; but both the Czar and Russia act openly. When the correspondence between Nicholas and the Cabinet of England shall have passed from the domain of the partial, unscrupulous Anglo-French journalism, from the hot-bed of excitement into the calm region of consciencious, historical criticism and shall be coolly weighed, the judgment formed of these documents will be different; at any rate the Czar openly told England his ideas and wishes.

Altogether neither the Emperor nor Russia have ever,

during years of their political activity, put on the mask of liberalism. They combat it openly everywhere, with diplomacy and arms wherever they meet it. They have not stirred up revolts, insurrections and revolutions in order to abandon and faithlessly betray them afterwards. Absolutism they have supported ever since they begun to interfere with the affairs of western Europe. Thus neither the Emperor nor Russia have ever perjured themselves or betrayed a cause which they have, at any time, espoused.

If the Czar acting wisely or cunningly had seized upon Turkey in 1848—and this he ought certainly to have done—the Russians might have occupied Constantinople before the news of the occupation could have reached Paris or London. But the Czar unwisely preferred meddling unnecessarily with western affairs, which in reality do not concern Russia at all.

Russia, deemed formidable when acting on the defensive, has comparatively but few, if any, resources for pure aggression towards Europe. Were such a momentary conquest of Europe effected, as by a miracle, it could not last long, and it is absurd even to admit its possibility.

The conquests by the Romans, not to speak of those under Charlemagne and those partially effected by Napoleon, were made under wholly different conditions and combinations from those which Russia could bring to bear in an aggressive war. The present state of Europe wholly differs from that one, in which it was some twenty centuries ago, or at the beginning of the present century.

Allowing, however, for the sake of illustration that Russia has suddenly conquered Europe, there arises the insurmountable difficulty of confirming such a conquest, in the government of the States subdued. On account of this difficulty the partial attempts of the so-called *universal monarchy* as recorded in European history, have been and

must ever be, foiled. Political complications arising from such an attempt would be so formidable that no human power—mental or physical—could control and cope with them.

Imagine Russia quietly occupying and administering civilized, populous and active Prussia, Germany, France or even Italy! Such a centralization of power is absolutely impossible. It is an absurdity on its face; and it is astonishing that any acute mind whatever, can indulge in such a vagary. The absorption of Poland is commonly pointed at, as an evidence of the aggressive tendencies of Russia. But though this evidence can be considered as a plausible one, it has no intrinsic value. Poland was internally dead, could not stand alone among her neighbors, and was in every respect inferior to vigorous, thriving and growing Russia.

The so-called universal monarchy idea, effete and obsolete dotage as it is, is yet used as a mean by common-place politicians to amuse, excite, or at times to frighten a credulous public. Certain fallacies cleave tenaciously to common minds; and those were of a very common order which could indulge in dreams of establishing a universal monarchy, or lose their time in speculating, *in abstracto*, about its probability.

In his correspondence, now so much spoken of, with the English cabinet, Nicholas confesses the difficulty of governing an extensive empire. No one can deny that he possesses uncommon activity and energy. This confession is a groan of his soul, and the result of dearly acquired experience. Further an aggressive war on Europe, is, and will always be repulsive to the feelings and aspirations of the Russian people at large. They well know how such a mad attempt would be ruinous to the assailant. Peace with her influence, and benignant results is, as well or better, appreciated by the Russian people than by the French and some other

European nations accustomed for centuries to prey upon neighboring or distant lands.

England with her tendency to subjugate the whole world by her so-called free trade—thus rendering all nations her humble and impoverished tributaries—in the present state of human development, aims infinitely more to establish universal dominion than does Russia.

The still well remembered declaration of Earl Clarendon, that she will watch, united with France over the affairs and therefore over the destinies of the TWO HEMISPHERES, reveals longings for universal preponderance and of interference with other people's affairs to which no act of the Czar can be compared.

The destinies and the natural tendencies of Russia point visibly towards the east and towards central Asia. There they must and will be accomplished ; and no power should or will be able to arrest her expansion in that direction or check her progress in this, for her, predestined orbit.

This subject, however, has been fully treated of by me in another publication,* therefore I will not pursue it further here.

Those who believe or found their hopes on the eventuality that in the present complication,—whatever may be the extremity, even if the whole of western Europe with Germany and Austria should turn against Russia—that the Czar, driv en to the wall, will seek revenge or succour in stirring up revolutions in Italy or Hungary ; ally himself with that party ; give it the slightest encouragement whatever, or stretch out his hand for a moment to men, representing revolutionary ideas anywhere ; all these, I say, are most strangly mistaken, as to his nature and character. Should he be driven to the Volga, lose one-half of his possessions, neither he nor the

* Russia as it is. New York, 1854, by D. Appleton & Company.

Russians would make or accept any proposals from the partisans of a revolution.

And then very likely Russia will not need to do so. When the extremity is at hand—she will openly appeal to her coreligionists in Turkey ; to her kindred, under the Ottoman sway. There she will find allies more faithful than anywhere else in Europe. And in making such an appeal, neither will the Czar nor Russia belie themselves, or desert their true character.

It is on the whole very strange, that England should be sympathizing everywhere with that which is rotten and putrid ; here, for example, with the leprous Musquitoes, calling them her royal cousins ; there again, in Europe, with all kinds of polygamists and sodomites,—the deadly and irreconcilable enemies of all true Christians—if it be no crime to sympathize with the wrongs of the oppressed Africans. It is very strange indeed that it should be treason, perfidy, obscurantism to take up the case of coreligionists and cognate populations. When England rightfully raises her voice in favor of protestants, why should it be hypocrisy to defend the believers in the Greek Cross? The Greeks, the Slavi and the other Christians of Turkey however, very well know that it is only since the Mohammedans began to feel the Russian bayonets, that they have behaved somewhat better, and have treated them even partially humanely.

VIII

Similis simili gaudet. England in so heartily supporting the oppression of the majority by a reckless minority, is perfectly consistent and in harmony with herself ; remaining true to her secular character. What else has England done for seven centuries and is still doing even now in Ireland ? crushing and starving out millions for the sake of a few masters, and of a church without parishoners. What else is England doing in India ?

Right, justice, and civilization, are invoked by the English ministers ; and on the whole face of the earth, amongst Christians, ay, even savages, there does not exist a population that is at once more abject, brutalized, and deprived of every feeling and notion of morality than the poor of England, and the population generally, of her mining districts. The parliamentary blue books and reports of the Commissioners, all official and trustworthy documents, are fully satisfactory on this head. It is therefore very natural that England should become the knight-errant of the corrupt minority formed by the Turks. But the policy of England ever was, and always is, treacherous and hypocritical ; America herself knows this.

When Poland and Hungry rose for national independence, did the English government risk any demonstration on their behalf during many months of protracted and bloody struggles ? Lord Palmerston full of his aristocratic *hauteur* unblushingly replied in the House, some few years ago, to an attack of Mr. Ansley, that he (Lord Palmerston,) never in-

tended to do anything for Poland ; that it was not his fault if Mr. Walewski, the present French Ambassador in London, then (in 1831,) a Polish agent there, considered a few words proferred to him at an evening party, by way of common courtesy as sympathy, as an official demonstration, in fact and converted them into a diplomatic despatch to his credulous government, and further that beyond this single occurrence, his Lordship never exchanged words either with the Polish agent or government.

What did the English Government do for Hungary ? Can Kossuth or Pulsky show any documental proofs of its active sympathy ? Encouraging words indeed, have not been wanting, but there was no act of humanity during the struggle, or even afterwards, during the murderous executions.

His Lordship's (Lord P's) action in the name of England has not been always so heartless and harmless. In her name he shook hands with every government of France, but most heartily of all, with that of 1851, still dripping as it was with the blood of republicans.

And now as for Italy, and Sicily. In the year 1846-47, Englishmen in general, and the government agents in particular, were most active in exciting hope and in encouraging acts. Everybody recollects the triumphal progress of Lord Minto and his liberal public manifestations. Both Lords, were very well aware that by the excitement of the one party, outbreaks would be provoked, and that Piedmont, Italy, the reforming Pope and Naples, would come to blows with Austria ; the rulers with the oppressed. Lord Palmerston fraternized with the Sicilians and recognised their independence—and then, wholly gave them up to the tender mercies of the King of Naples.

England abandoned Piedmont in its unequal struggle with Austria and only at last showed her sympathetic activity in the case of a paltry armistice.

During the winter from 1847-48 in Naples, (and I was there myself,) the house of the English chargé—if I recollect well, a near relation of Lord Palmerston, was the headquarters for the meetings of the liberals and the focus of conspiracy ; there pamphlets against tyranny, were printed and thence distributed amongst the people. But when it came to an open struggle, there indeed was an absolutist aide-de-camp of the Czar, openly encouraging the frightened Ferdinand, but there was no English liberal to hearten the people. And when liberty was mortally struck, and the prisons were filled with martyrs, no English man-of-war appeared before Naples to the rescue of principles, when only a few years before, a whole fleet menaced the city ; since Sulphur and English pockets were in danger.

If England or any of her ministry whatever shall, at any time, actively support the maintenance of the Spanish domination over Cuba, and try to menace the United States, it will not be on account of principles or any faithfulness to treaties and allies, but simply because she knows when the United States have annexed Cuba that her exports there will be considerably crippled.

The industry of the Northern States will easily crowd out that of England from a mart which then will become national—American. Further, England recognises the fact, that when Cuba is annexed, the productions of the Island will be centupled, and consequently annihilate those of the West Indies. Finally the revenues of Cuba form the sole guarantee of the English creditors of Spain. All this accounts for English devotion to the alliance.

Lord Palmerston can assume any cloak or masque suitable for the circumstance, and the time being. His life realises the dictum of an ancient writer : *Omnia serviliter pro dominatione* : being servile to a Sovereign or according as the wind blows, to a popular agitation. His name will remain on the

records as that of a diplomatic trickster, as a political Escobar, both as regards principles and nations.

IX.

Europe is one great area of oppression. Only its intensity is variagated, and of different shadowings and degrees. The oppressed, in England in various phases and manner, number several millions. France yielded, and yields willingly to the chains put on her. Italy, Germany and Russia complete the whole. The clang of chains is general, only differently tuned. Time will and must come, when an end will be put to this. But when?—there is the enigma.

At present the current dictum is the so called *coming struggle*. It is expected every sping and every fall; predicted by the weatherwise; by great men, but from some cause or other, it is not yet on the way. It was positively announced for the month of May 1852; but some months before, unanticipated events took place; events, not thought of by anybody,—and the *coming struggle* was postponed, to an indefinite period. At present, it is to appear as a result of the complication in the East, together with the probable general war.

There are as many chances for, as against, its appearance. I hope, and wish, for general emancipation. But study, the experience of more than thirty years of a revolutionary life and a close observation of events, have taught me that, phenomena seldom or ever appear from the side whence they are positively expected. They never come by appointment

History acts in her own way, chiefly by surprises which baffle all calculations.

Few, if any, of the convulsions which in those thirty years shook the world, were the immediate results of long preparations, nay, even of conspiracies.

After the celebrated movement of the Carbonari, from 1820,—23, the only partially successful conspiracy was, the Polish one of 1830. And these two were so, because their focus was the army.

The Paris revolution of July with its numerous offshoots was not the result of a conspiracy. Neither was that of 1848.

The men who appealed to Germany from Heidelberg in 1848, were not prepared to do so, two months before. The events which originated in Italy in 1848 were not evoked by that secret association which had been so actively promoted for years. A few votes cast into the urns of the conclave, by giving the majority to Mastaï over Lambruschini, were the real revolutionists. No body then expected that the first blast would come from the Vatican.

The movement in Hungary was began by legally constituted powers ; being impelled from without by other events.

The outbreaks in Vienna and Berlin took everybody by surprise, and victory was easily obtained.

The *coming struggle* may not appear again this time, for the simple reason that its march has been already traced beforehand ; its very starting-point, its resting places marked down, forces distributed, and the leaders, dictators and generals, nay, even prophets nominated. However, up to the present day, seldom indeed, has one and the same generation much less the same individuals, had the chance to act twice, at intervals, on a revolutionary arena. Once unsuccessful, they have proved themselves to be either unlucky, unskilful, or not equal to the magnitude of the task.

Nearly every insurrection which has burst out has been originally distorted from the right course by its own parents. It is one thing to make programmes and speeches and another to act, and to direct the movements of masses and of a nation.

It was not any foreign influence, but the French themselves, that falsified the essence, the spirit indeed, of the revolution of February. Cavaignac &c. began it; Louis Napoleon directed the death-blow. After the *coup d'état* of December, wise journalists and politicians proclaimed that the inexhaustible gold of the autocrat had assisted the deed. This assertion was directly opposed to common sense, but still it was believed. It was soon found however, that the real promoters of the affair were in fact, the *billets* of the Bank of France. The autocrat was the last to recognise the *coup* and and subsequently the Empire.

German politicians and journalists are the greatest whiners in the known world. They have always had their mouths full of accusations against every one for all German mishaps. So it was with them in the past, and so it is now. They complain that they are either taken in or betrayed. No foreign or Russian influence prevented the Germans at the commencement of the events of 1848, getting at once rid of their Kings and Princes, if they had had the heart to do so.

Nearly 1500 of the 'talents' (Germ. Intelligenzen) were gathered together in various parliaments of the country. And at first they were backed by a great part of the people. Why did they not act? No one interfered with them in Prussia, in Berlin, but Prussians themselves. The army composed of a national and popular element, of the *Landwehr*, restored and strengthened the royal power. And then the Prussians fought against the republicans of Dresden and of Baden, and gave up Schleswig Holstein.

This proves in the end either that the majorities are not as yet revolutionary (otherwise how could they be oppressed by the minorities,) or it proves that the leaders of the movements have been everywhere outwitted by their domestic antagonists.

Central Europe with Italy, France, Germany and Austria has a population of one hundred millions. The arsenals are full of arms and amunition, enough indeed, to arm the whole male population. These countries are overflowing with capital, and have immense revenues ; therefore no foreign action whatever could prevent the people doing as it pleased. For if this enormous mass of people should ever chose to rise against its internal oppressors, what power could cope with it? But if there now exists no decided majority for a rising in these countries themselves, of what use can some hundred thousands of dollars, any number of guns and saddles, or active volunteers be, when sent to them from abroad?

In 1848 the fall of Hungary and Italy depended alone—but this only towards the close upon foreign intervention. In Hungary, Russian interference precipitated the catastrophe, but twice before that, the Hungarians might have taken Vienna. Was it any foreign influence whatever or Russian troops that prevented Görgey and Kossuth from doing this? I do not suppose that Hungary could have stood by herself much longer ; but I do know from undoubted authority, if Russia had not sent her troops, that the Hapsburgs—obliged to choose between the loss of Italy or Hungary, being unable to save both—were determined to give up Lombardy, to recal Radetsky with his 120,000 picked troops, most of them Germans and Croats—and then Hungary would have been finally reconquered, and Italy free, save from the French pro popery intervention.

So much altogether for accusations and recriminations.

X.

It is impossible to lay down a scheme of events that may result from the Eastern Question. There is war, and England has to carry out her mongrel liberalism. As yet, history teaches us that a naval power proves insufficient in any struggle with a continental one. A naval battle, the destruction even of the ports, will not decide the fate of Russia. And if Russia do not give an opportunity for a battle, what then?

Russia has no commercial marine; however, she can export to neutral Germany by land, and even if she do not sell her raw produce, she will cook and use it, and so never starve. At present England purchases them to the extent of thirteen millions of pounds sterling, ; in the English market, the only rising prices are those of Russian produce. And it is yet to be seen how England and her little ones can do without it.

Further it will be a curious thing to hear, the pious, biblical, high-church English; the French, protectors of the Pope, sing *amen* to invocations made for the blessing of ALLAH and the prophet, and to see them assist in the scalping of dead bodies and occasional prisoners, things already perpetrated by the troops of Omar Pascha, the liberator of humanity.

My forebodings of the future of European and Russian liberty are rather gloomy, as connected with any, and more especially with the present war. What if the Czar should have the best of it? *Eventus belli dubius esse* is an old saying.

At any rate Russia goes to work with a quiet, but unshaken decision ; fully aware of the magnitude of her task. There is no rhodomontade on her side. Lord Palmerston and Sir Charles Napier on the other hand have already, what between port and champagne, burnt fleets, stormed forts, bombarded cities, divided the spoils, and sold the skin of the Bear. But generally history punishes similar rhodomontades and such arrogant behavior.

The Poles are already distributing in Constantinople, coin or medallions, with the bust of the sham-king Czartoryiski, with the inscription *resurexit*. France, or rather the only man who there enjoys the right to speak his opinion, Louis Napoleon, has even remodelled the whole map of Europe. He imitates his uncle well, by offering Poland to Prussia, as did the uncle to Russia, previous to the Campaign of 1812.

I recollect that at that time, Marshal Junot and Jerome, then King of Westphalia, on their march to Russia presented to my father a map containing the road to India with all the details of the rallying points for the armies, together with their resting places &c. On the map there was the medallion of the mighty man with the inscription : *Dieu au ciel, Napoleon sur la terre.* The result is known, and the man who traced the Indian map, was the beloved of victory, slept on battle-fields, and rested not content with warming his feet quietly on the andirons in the Tuilleries.

XI.

History proves from the remotest times, that the policy of political refugees generally has no basis. Altogether they always overrate their influence over the country, to which they belong. Abroad, they still cling to the notions on which they acted at home ; unaware apparently that time moves on, that a new generation has arisen, new and different events and relations sprung up, and so the ground dissappears from beneath their feet. Thirty years of observation and experience have taught me enough of it. Refugees invariably promise too much and events do not justify them.

When Napoleon undertook the campaign of 1812, he was assured by the Poles in his service as well as by his various diplomatic agents, that on his appearance in Russia, the people and serfs would rise and join him as a liberator. Experience taught him the reverse. He drove the Russian troops out of Lithuania, only eighteen years after the last dismemberment of Poland, when ancient recollections and sympathies ought to have been still alive ; and how many of the Lithuanian people joined his or the Polish standard? Not three thousand men and of these, the chief part was composed of nobles, which is the genuine Polish element. Some few influential aristocrats as Radziwill, Chodkiewitch, Gelgud formed single regiments and that was all.

During the war in Poland in the year 1831, thousands upon thousands of Lithuanians and Poles from other ancient Polish provinces served in the Russian army, forming even

a separate corps, called the 'Lithuanian' one. For nearly ten months this corps was in the middle of Poland, surrounded by Polish peasants and fighting against us. Soldiers from one camp could pass to the other with ease and security. But scarcely a thousand soldiers joined the Polish army and not more than four or five subaltern officers.

In Lithuania the nobility rose in numbers but not the peasantry. The same even took place, to a smaller extent, in Volhynia and in Podolia.

These are sad but nevertheless true facts.

In the actual Russian army there exist no special Polish regiments. The Polish recruits being scattered singly throughout the whole, the chances, if any, are consequently small that the Turko-Polish legions will be strengthened by numerous fugitves. If Austrian troops should become involved and be opposed to Turks or Franco-Hungarian legions, very likely the results will be the same as have been repeatedly experienced with the Poles.

XII.

Among the reasons mentioned to excite sympathy on behalf of Turkey, the most prominent one is the asylum afforded by the Porte to the Hungarian refugees after the catastrophe of 1849. Without intending to depreciate this act of generous hospitality, some explanations cannot be superfluous.

Throwing aside the question as to how far the affinity of race could have exercised its influence—I may mention that Hungarian insurrectionists and nobles, for the space of two centuries, have been generally, in some way or other, allies of Turkey. History herself, points to many events connected with the names of Gabor, Zapoly, and Tekely ; to the siege of Vienna by the Turks allied with Hungarians, whence they were repulsed by Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine.

Further, the asylum given to political refugees, is as old as history, and belongs to the number of those little *friendly* services, which neighboring powers are always glad to render to each other. Without going far back for examples, we find that France, even under the elder Bourbons—not to speak of Louis Philippe—gave an asylum to Spaniards and Italians proscribed by other Bourbons. Florence and Tuscany, with an Austrian Arch-Duke as ruler, was, up to the year of 1849, a refuge for Romans, Neapolitans, Lombards, Piedmonteese and Modeneese, obliged to fly from their homes ;

although reclamations and objections from their respective governments were not wanting.

Colletta, one of the most eminent Neapolitan patriots of the Carbonari epoch, lived in Florence—and published there a 'History of Naples,' which has placed him by the side of Tacitus—and ultimately died there.

During the Polish insurrection of 1831, Austria and Prussia allied to Russia, allowed hundreds of their Polish subjects to join the Polish army; only a few of them were punished on their return home, and this only in a disciplinary way. After the fall of Warsaw, Austria and Prussia allowed thousands of Poles to enter their dominions and reach France, giving pay to numbers of them, and entertaining others for two or three years. Prussia allowed some chiefs and generals, even to buy estates and establish themselves in the Dukedom of Posen, where for twenty years numerous Polish refugees came, both from France and other countries to reside.

After my flight from Russia, in 1844, I found a refuge for several months in Prussia, notwithstanding that my extradition was imperiously demanded from St. Petersburg, in virtue of an existing convention between the two governments. Count Arnim, the Prussian minister of the Interior was willing to give me up, the King, however, generously refused to do so.

Several chiefs and eminent leaders of the Polish insurrection of 1830, entered Prussia, and not one was given up to Russia. Prince Czartoryiski resided in Austria for some time, and it was even rumored that the deceased Emperor Francis paid from his private purse, to the Prince, as the son of a former Austrian field-marshal, a handsome yearly allowance.

General Skrzynetski, chief commander of the Polish army, resided on his parole in Prague, until the year 1835, when he

secretly left the city, being lured away by Montalembert and other ultra-montane Franco-Belgo partizans, to take the command of the Belgian troops against a menaced invasion by Holland.

Wladislas Ostrowski, the president or marshal of the Polish insurrectionary Diet, a man of immense influence, and who stood foremost amongst his fellow patriots, is still living unmolested in Austria. True it is, that about 1833–34 numerous Polish refugees were expelled from that country, but it was only after a conspiracy had been discovered. Austria sent them at her own cost to America.

XIII.

A great similitude exists, in many respects, in a comparison of the reasons of the war between Russia and Turkey in 1828, and the present one. It is a matter of peculiar interest to observe how the events of that time were judged of by an eminent American, John Quincy Adams.

In the *American Annual Register* for the years 1827—8 and 9, published in New York 1830—the writer points to the good faith of Russia towards her (then) allies, and her forbearance, "For which the sovereign obtained no credit whatever. In the beginning of the war he disclaimed all purposes of aggrandizement, and he kept the promise. But by this war, Greece was finally emancipated, and Moldavia, Wal-

lachia and Servia freed from the immediate pressure of the pashas and of the Divan."

The writer says further, "That the fact that the career of victory was by the order of the Czar arrested short of Constantinople, is perhaps to be regretted as it regards the cause of Christendom and of humanity——, that the Ottoman Empire is in the agonies of death. The struggles of the Sultan in his extremity, to save himself by adopting European improvements in the art of war, cannot avert the fate of his Empire and of his religion. The improvements in the arts of war, like those in the arts of peace, which have raised the men of the European race above the ancient, and above the Mohammedan level of humanity, flow from the same perennial fountain, and that fountain is Christianity—" I call it Christian civilization.*

XIV.

Whatever may be the other results of the present conflagration, Russia forcibly brings the question of Turkish and Mohammedan existence in Europe to an unavoidable and final issue. No patching up will be possible. The after-thought of history and of civilization, will be thankful to Russia for it. The Christians, the Greeks, the Slavi, very likely will not be induced to submit longer to Turkish supremacy, for the sake of European expediency. At present the Turks alone have the right to go about armed ; when the Christians shall have

* See Russia as it is, Chap. xiii.

acquired the same right, then assuredly French and English watchmen will continually have to accompany Christians and Turks, to prevent them from fighting. If the Christians ever be fully emancipated; that is, raised to an equal social level with the Turks, and thus get the administration of Justice and of government into their hands—and less than this they cannot accept even under a protectorate—then the Turks, Islamism, with its pashas, kadis, muftis, harems and seraglio are doomed with a speed wholly incalculable.

If the Turks broadly and radically accept European civilization, with Christianity as its only source, then they will cease to be Turks, and as an indolent race they will quickly disappear from the world-scene. In every respect a new formation must arise and step into the place occupied by the Moslems. How far, however, the native populations of Turkey, after centuries of the most oppressive and abject tyranny, may be apt to organize themselves—how much nerve they may have for it—time itself must show; but at any rate the domination of the Kuran over them must have an end.

XV.

The Slavi, forming the immense majority, groaning now under the Turkish rule, who against fearful odds are making some slow progress in the rudiments of civilization, must therefore finally become emancipated. No matter how But events are working in their behalf everywhere. For the last eight years, every movement which has shakes

Europe, has resulted nearly exclusively in favor of the Slavic race,—of the people—the peasantry.

The inrurrectionary movement so heedlessly undertaken by the nobility in Gallitzia in 1846, turned out, to be beneficial for the whole peasantry of that province. The peasants became liberated from the crushing, feudal oppression of the nobles ; they acquired free homesteads, and these are still strictly maintained by the Austrian judiciary. They are at the present time masters of the land and of their labor.

The scythe of the outraged peasant has severed for ever the chain of servitude between him and the noble. The same resulted in the Austrian dominions, after the movements of 1848. The Slavi did not provoke them ; they were in the second rank ; but finally *they* were the people benefited by this fiery erruption.

In Bohemia, Moravia, Slavakia, Croatia, Woiêwadina, Banat, Dalmatia, the peasant, as peasant, became liberated from the pressure exercised by landlords and nobles. The Slavi, as Slavi, saw an end put to the haughty rule of the Maghyars, who had tried to destroy their language and nationality.

The Slavi of Turkey did not provoke the present complication ; but all signs point out that they will reap the results.

Europe will finally eject the Turks, notwithstanding the good wishes and the efforts of the Anglo-French. This has been for centuries the aim of her combined efforts, the wish of all true and honest men. Without going far back for authorities, I appeal to that of the late Lord Holland, whose lofty and enlightened liberalism is beyoud doubt. As late as in the year of 1830, Lord Holland said : "The first thing is to drive the Turks back into Asia. In Europe they have been nothing but wasters and destructionists. Nothing thrives ; but everything perishes under their sway.

This jealousy and dread of Russia may prop up the Ottoman Empire for a time, but nothing can keep it up long. It is rotten at the foundation and in all its parts."

Lord John Russell, his pupil, for a long time coincided in the same views. But the author of the work on "*The Establishment of the Turks in Europe,*" has changed them for diplomatic expediency.

XVI.

The crescent will be shattered. This can be said without any pretention to prophecy. Nature in her works, does not recur to restorations of what is worn out and withered, and what has already lost the inborn conditions of life. Neither does history. Whatever in the realm of Nature shrinks and can exist no longer by its own essence—whatever this essence may be—and dies out, dissolves to make room for or nourish new creations.

The process of history is similar. She is original, and ever moving; she looses no time in nursing decrepitude, or in patching up decomposition; she does not carefully take by the arm and drag forward that which possesses no life, no strength for an onward march. As long as the Ottomans breathed even a ferocious but strong spirit, history was on their side. In the present issue, between Christians and

Islams, between the Greeks, the Slavi, the Russians—admitting that both parties are barbarians—the one is increasing, growing, expanding and tending onward; the other diminishing, withering, and sinking down both morally and physically. History and humanity will make the righteous choice.

New York, April 27, 1854.

THE END.

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NOTICES FROM THE PRESS.

Recent events have made the Turkish Empire as interesting now, that it is threatened by Russian hordes, as it was in the 16th century, when a Tartar could ride with the Sultan's firman, respected all the way, from the banks of the Volga to the confines of Morocco—when its armies threatened Vienna, and its fleets ravaged the costs of Italy. It then excited the fears of civilised Europe—it now excites its cupidity. * * * *

Admiral Slade's long residence in the East, has made him familiar with every phase of the Turkish character, and the reader will with his assistance be able to judge, pretty accuretely, of the present state of the Ottoman Empire. * * * *

Considering the importance of the subject, its wide-spread influence on the Empire ,especially that portion of it inhabited by the Greeks, the Author has devoted a few pages to the late Sultan's reforming policy. Still admitting the absolute necessity for reform in Turkey, he has endeavoured to show wherein Mahmoud failed ; in attempting too much at once, and in commencing at the wrong end ; so that reform, instead of being a blessing to his people, has proved in some instances, a curse. *Preface.*

[From the New York Daily National Democrat, of April 20.]

The present war has made all works relating to the Turkish Empire, of interest, even when, as not unfrequently happens, their authors give us the benefit of only a very imperfect knowledge of the subject upon which they treat. It is therefore, with the greater pleasure that we call the attention of the public to a book on Turkey which from the Author's long residence in the East, and his intimate acquaintance with every phase of Turkish character, promises to be as reliable as entertaining. The description of Constantinople, "the Pearl of Europe," of Adrianople, Schumla and the Bulgarians will be found full of interest. * * *

The work is well written, in an easy unaffected style ; while thetypography and mechanical execution are such as reflect credit upon the firm by whom it is issued.

From the New York True American, of April 22.

The most valuable part of this interesting work is a narrative of a voyage with the Capitan Pasha, which Admiral Slade has described with characteristic effect and observation. To the original work, the American Editor has added an appendix, affording some important observations upon the Greek Church, the Turkish Press and the port of Sebastopol—the Russian stronghold—a series of papers, which will materially aid the reader upon points relating to the existing war in the Orient.

From the Philadelphia Public Ledger, of April 21.

This volume is written by the English naval officer, Slade, who is now Admiral of the Turkish fleet, and who has possessed good opportunities for seeing the Turk and his country.

[From the Baltimore Clipper, April 21, 1854.

The author certainly enjoyed every facility for obtaining accurate information of the country and people about which he has written.

From the Daily Union, City of Washington, April 21, 1854.

At this time, when all eyes are turned to the East, such a book is peculiarly acceptable There is something of an air of romance connected with the details, especially those which describe his cruise in the Black sea with the Captain Pasha, which makes his pages particularly attractive. Those who take an interest in the pending war between Turkey and Russia, will find Slade's Travels a valuable assistant in forming correct opinions.

From the Republican and Argus, Washington, April 20, 1854.

This is a very opportune publication.

From the Washington Sentinel, April 21, 1854.

A glance through this volume has given us a high opinion of it. The style is easy, fluent, and polished. The features of Turkish life, the manners and customs of the people, and their peculiar social and domestic habits are sketched in the most captivating manner.

From the Boston Daily Post, April 25th.

Everything about Turkey is now coming out, but "Slade's Travels" are superior to any other production with which we are acquainted relating to the Ottomans. His descriptions of naval and military matters, and of the peculiarities of Turkish life, are very entertaining.

From the Boston Atlas, April 24, 1854.

A long residence in the country has made him familiar with the Turkish people, and enables him to judge with some presumable accuracy of the present condition of the empire.

From the Boston Evening Traveler April 25, 1854.

This volume will be found to contain much matter of an interesting character.

From the Evening Star, Washington, April 21, 1854.

The author is Adolphus Slade, an Englishman, who is an admiral of the Turkish fleet; a devil-may care sailor, who tells of the Turks and Turkey just as he knows them; treating subjects of peculiar interest at this time in a very agreeable, yet blunt way. Nothing likely to interest an American inquirer relative to Turkey, her people, their manners, customs, &c., seems to have escaped him.

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